Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, CH, JA

SUBJECT: FRG ASSESSMENT OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

AT JUNE 10 MEETING OF NATO POLADS, THE FRG REP DISTRIBUTED THE FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

BEGIN TEXT:

- 1. THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA ABOUT A "PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY" HAVE ENCOUNTERED CONSIDRABLE DIFFICULTIES. THE MAIN ISSUE IS THE CHINESE DEMAND FOR THE INCLUSION OF THE SO-CALLED "HEGEMONY CLAUSE". (IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF 29 SEPTEMBER 1972, THIS CLAUSE READS AS FOLLOWS: "NONE OF THE TWO STATES WILL SEEK TO ESTABLISH A POSTIION OF HEGEMONY IN THE ASIAN PACIFIC REGION, AND BOTH STATES WOULD OPPOSE THE EFFORTS OF A THIRD COUNTRY OR A GROUP OF COUNTIRES TO SEEK SUCH HEGEMONY.")
- 2. THE INTENTION TO INCLUDE THIS CLAUSE HAS MET WITH THE CLEAR OPPOSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE INSERTION OF THIS CLAUSE INTO THE COMMUNIQUE OF 1972 HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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ALREADY BEEN CRITICIZED DURING MR. TANAKA'S VISIT TO MOSCOW IN 1973. AFTER THE PROMULGATION OF THE NEW CHINESE CONSTITUTION OF 17 JANUARY 1975, THE NEGATIVE SOVIET ATTITUDE HAS STRENGTHENED EVEN MORE, SINCE THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

CONTAINS AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO THE SOVIET UNION IN CONNECTION WITH THE SEARCH FOR HEGEMONY. (IT SAYS THERE: "WE HAVE TO OPPOSE.... THE HEGEMONIAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE SUPER POWERS".)

- 3. HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE DISLIKE THE CLAUSE FOR ANOTHER REASON. IN THE JAPANESE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTRY, IT WAS SAID THAT SUCH A CLAUSE HAD UP TO NOW NEVER BEEN INSERTED INTO AN INTERNATIONAL TREATY. IT WAS AN AMBIGUOUS AND EVEN DANGEROUS CLAUSE. THE JAPANESE SIDE REARED THAT THIS TERM COULD ALSO BE APPLIED TO THE JAPANESE ECONOMIC COMMITMENT IN ASIA. THE CHINESE INTERPRETATION OF THE CLAUSE ALSO EXTENDED TO THE EXPANSION OF MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER AND MIGHT RESTRICT JAPANS ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN OTHER COUNTIRES.
- 4. STRONG CONTROVERSIES HAVE ALREADY EMERGED WITHIN THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF JAPAN OVER THIS MATTER. ENEMIES OF THE CLAUSE POINT OUT THAT, IN THE LONG RUN, THE SITUATION IN ASIA MIGHT CHANGE AND THAT THE ADOPTION OF THE CLAUSE MIGHT LEAD TO ENDLESS DIFFICULTIES. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, JAPAN WERE TO SIGN AN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WITH COUNTRIES BORDERING ON THE PACIFIC, SUCH AS AUSTRALIA, THE UNITED STATES OR CANADA, THIS MIGHT BE REGARDED BY THE CHINESE AS BEING IN CONTRAVENTION TO THE CLAUSE. JAPAN WOULD, FURTHERMORE, NEEDLESSLY BECOME INVOLVED IN THE DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION, PERHAPS ALSO BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA- A COUNTRY WHICHH WAS BEING ACCUSED BY CHINA OF HARBOURING HEGEMONIAL ASPIRATIONS IN SOUTHER ASIA.
- 5. THE CHINESE DEMAND THE INCLUSION OF THE CLAUSE. IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS, THEY HAVE USED EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THEIR POSITION UNEQUIVOCALLY CLEAR TO JAPANESE VISITORS OF ALL KINDS. THE LEADER OF THE BUDDHIST SECT SOGAGAKKAI, IKEDA, WAS TOLD BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TENG HSIAO-PING ON 16 APRIL 1975 THAT A JAPANESE RENUNCIATION OF HEGEMONY IN THE TREATY WOULD CONSTITUTE THE DEFINITE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND WOULD INCREASE JAPANS STANDING IN ASIA AND THE WORLD. CONFIDENTIAL

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6. IT WAS NOTED WITH INTEREST IN TOKYO THAT THERE IS NO HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE VISIT BY MR. KIM-IL-SUNG TO PEKING. IT IS HOPED IN JAPAN THAT THIS FACT WILL IMPROVE THE JAPANESE NEGOTIATING POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE CHINESE. END TEXT. BRUCE

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